

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 OPR-02 A-01 SY-05 AID-05 SCCT-01

USSS-00 EB-07 COME-00 OC-05 CCO-00 SCS-03 SCA-01

PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-02 H-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 OMB-01 SAM-01

SSO-00 ACDA-05 IO-10 /110 W
----- 014328

R 030955Z MAY 75

FM AMCONSUL LUANDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3502

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 LUANDA 0514

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: AEMR ASEC PINT MILI AO

SUBJECT: RATIONALE FOR EVACUATION OF DEPENDENTS

PRETORIA FOR RSO

REF: LUANDA 0509 AND 0438 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. I ORDERED DEPENDENTS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
IN ANGOLA TO DEPART POST AND REMAIN AWAY UNTIL THE LIBERATION MOVE-
MENTS ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNAL SECURITY
FORCES ARE CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING ORDER. I AM ESPECIALLY CON-
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CERNED OVER THE TENDENCY TO BLAME WHITES FOR THE VIOLENCE AND THE

ATTACKS UPON WHITES AND THEIR PROPERTY. END SUMMARY.

2. ON MAY 2 I ORDERED THE EVACUATION OF ALL DEPENDENTS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN LUANDA. ONLY DEPENDENTS OF STATE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL WERE INVOLVED. TEXACO AND HALLIBURTON, A CONTRACTOR, TOOK THE SAME ACTION SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT INDEPENDENT OF MY DECISION. I HAD EARLIER ADVISED TEXACO TO ADVANCE THE DATE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ITS DEPENDENTS (LUANDA 0501). I HAVE INFORMED OTHER U.S. FIRMS OPERATING IN ANGOLA OF MY DECISION AND RECOMMENDED THEY FOLLOW SUIT. WE WILL CONTACT OTHER AMERICAN CITIZENS IN THE AREA TO ADVISE THEM OF OUR ACTION. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSUL GENERAL ON MAY 2 ADVISED HIS NATIONALS TO EVACUATE DEPENDENTS. WE HAVE NOT TRIED TO CONTACT AMERICANS OUTSIDE LUANDA, AS THE REST OF THE COUNTRY IS QUIET.

3. I TURNED FROM THE VOLUNTARY PROCEDURE I HAD RECOMMENDED IN LUANDA 0438 BECAUSE OF THE ATTACKS OF MAY ONE AND TWO ON WHITES WHO LIVE IN AND AROUND LUANDA'S GHETTOS. THEY WERE FORCED FROM THEIR HOMES, WHICH WERE THEN LOOTED. SOME WERE BEATEN, WOMEN AND GIRLS WERE RAPED. THESE WERE THE ACTS OF VANDALS OPERATING OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF ANY AUTHORITY, ALTHOUGH SOME WORE UNIFORMS OR IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF LIBERATION GROUPS. A RADICAL GROUP DISTRIBUTED A PAMPHLET ON MAY DAY IN WHICH THEY ASKED WHY FNLA ATTACKED THE HOMES OF POOR BLACKS IN THE GHETTOS AND NOT THE HOMES OF THE WEALTHY IN THE ALVALADE AND MIRAMAR, THE TWO AREAS WHERE MOST FOREIGNERS RESIDE. THESE AND OTHER ACTS ARE INDICATIVE OF THE DEEP SEATED RESENTMENT ON THE PART OF BLACKS TOWARD WHITES. EVEN IN ITS LESS VIOLENT MANIFESTATIONS THE SYNDROME IS FRIGHTENING: ARMED BLACKS DRESSED IN MPLA AND FNLA UNIFORMS ENTERED AN APARTMENT BUILDING NOT FAR FROM THE ALVALADE AND SEARCHED THE APARTMENTS ON THE PRETEXT OF LOOKING FOR ARMS. THEIR OBJECT, OF COURSE, WAS TO STEAL WHATEVER THEY COULD OF VALUE. FACTORIES IN THE INDUSTRIAL AREAS HAVE BEEN LOOTED, STILL ANOTHER INDICATOR OF WHAT IS IN STORE FOR THE FUTURE.

4. IN LUANDA'S 0352 I TOUCHED ON THE POSSIBILITY OF BLACKS TAKING VENGEANCE ON WHITES. THE POSSIBILITY HAS NOW BECOME A REALITY AND IN THE NEXT ROUND OF VIOLENCE THAT IS SURE TO COME FOREIGNERS ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE THE TARGETS OF BLACK HATRED AND THE NEXT TIME THE LOOTERS AND MOBS WILL GO FURTHER AFIELD. MOST PEOPLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARE STILL WORRIED ABOUT GETTING SHOT OR BEING DONE IN BY A MORTAR ROUND OR A GRENADE. THERE FEARS ARE CERTAINLY JUSTIFIED, BUT FAR MORE SERIOUS TO ME IS MOB VIOLENCE.

5. ANTI-WHITE FEELINGS ARE BEING FANNED BY BLACK LEADERS, AN INCREASING NUMBER OF WHOM HAVE BLAMED WHITES FOR THIS LATEST ROUND OF VIOLENCE. IN HIS STATEMENT TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE ON MAY ONE HOLDEN ROBERTO PUT RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOME OF THE TROUBLE AT

THE DOOR OF WHITES. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS DURING THE PAST TWO DAYS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE FAIR IN THEIR JUDGMENTS, I WAS DISTRESSED TO HEAR THEM PUT THE FINGER ON WHITES AS THE INSTIGATORS. IT IS A FACT THAT WHITES HAVE BEEN SEEN FIRING FROM APARTMENT BUILDINGS AND CARS, BUT NOT IN LARGE NUMBERS. THEIR MOTIVATION IS PROBABLY THE SAME AS THAT OF MANY BLACKS - RAGE, FEAR AND FRUSTRATION. IN THE PAST UNITA AND FNLA BLAMED PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS SENT DOWN SPECIFICALLY TO CREATE CHAOS ON BEHALF OF THE MPLA. FOR ITS PART, MPLA HAS ALWAYS SAID THAT WHITE REACTIONNAIRES HAVE SERVED AS THE CATYLIST OF MUCH OF THE VIOLENCE. NOW, UNITA AND FNLA HAVE JOINED MPLA IN BLAMING WHITE REACTIONNARIES. AS NO ONE IS ABLE TO FIND THE REAL CAUSES OF THE VIOLENCE, ALL SEEK TO FIND SOME ANSWER THAT FITS THE BLACK VIEW OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND THE WHITE SNIPERS HAVE PROVIDED A READY EXPLANATION. ALL WHITES ARE LIABLE TO BECOME FAIR GAME FOR LEGAL AND EXTRA LEGAL PUNISHMENT AND FOREIGNERS ARE BOUND TO BE AFFECTED.

6. IF, AS I BELIEVE, HIGH LEVELS OF VIOLENCE ARE GOING TO REOCCUR, IF THE AUTHORITIES WILL BE POWERLESS TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL SECURITY AND IF BLACKS WILL USE THE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDED BY WIDESPREAD FIGHTING TO LOOT IN AREAS WHERE FOREIGNERS LIVE THEN DEPENDENTS CANNOT REMAIN AT POST, AS THERE IS NO MEANS TO PROTECT AGAINST MOB VIOLENCE. THE FOLLOWING FACTORS ARE PERTINENT: A) THE SECURITY FORCES, BLACK AND WHITE, HAVE NEITHER THE WILL NOR CAPABILITY TO SAFEGUARD LIVES AND PROPERTY. THE PORTUGUESE TROOPS WILL ACT ONLY UNDER EXTREME PROVOCATION; THE WHITE POLICE ARE DEMORALIZED; THE NEW BLACK POLICEMEN NUMBER ONLY THREE HUNDRED, HAVE HAD ONLY ONE MONTH'S TRAINING AND WOULD BE NO MATCH FOR EVEN SMALL BANDS OF HOODLUMS. IF A NEW WAVE OF VIOLENCE BRINGS THESE BANDS INTO AREAS WHERE FOREIGNERS RESIDE THERE IS NO FORCE AVAILABLE THAT COULD STOP THEM.

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B) IN THE EVENT OF RENEWED VIOLENCE THAT INVOLVED ATTACKS ON FOREIGNERS WE WOULD HAVE NO WARNING AND WOULD BE UNABLE TO PUT INTO EFFECT ANY OF OUR E&E PLANNING. NOT ALL FOREIGNERS WOULD BE ATTACKED AT ONCE, BUT SOME WOULD DEFINITELY BE CAUGHT BEFORE THEY COULD MAKE THEIR ESCAPE TO POINTS OUTSIDE THE CITY OR TO STRONGHOLDS MANNED BY THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY.

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ACTION AF-06

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INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 SAM-01 OMB-01

SSO-00 ACDA-05 IO-10 /110 W
----- 014365

R 030955Z MAY 75

FM AMCONSUL LUANDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3503

INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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C) THE MOST RECENT FIGHTING HAS SHOWN US THAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS HAVE HEAVY WEAPONS AND DO NOT HESITATE TO USE THEM INDISCRIMINATELY. LARGE CALIBER MACHINE GUNS, 82 MILLIMETER MORTARS, 20 MILLIMETER ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS, ROCKET PROPELLED GRENADES, AND BAZOOKAS HAVE ALL BEEN BROUGHT INTO PLAY. WE HAVE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT MPLA HAS RECEIVED 105 MM MORTARS AND POSSIBLY SAM MISSILES, BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO INDICATE THESE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN USED. THE EXISTENCE OF HEAVY WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF POORLY TRAINED TROOPS AND IRREGULARS CONSTITUTES A DANGER TO THE ENTIRE CITY.

D) DURING THE MOST RECENT FIGHTING MPLA ATTACKED A FORMER
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MILITIA HEADQUARTERS IN THE ALVALADE NOW OCCUPIED BY THE FNLA. THE FNLA IS STILL THERE AND IN ANY FUTURE FIGHTING WE MUST ASSUME NEW ATTACKS WILL BE MADE, ENDANGERING AMERICAN LIVES.

SENIOR LIBERATION MOVEMENT OFFICIALS LIVE IN THE ALVALADE AND WILL BE TARGETS DURING THE NEXT ROUND.

E) OUR OPTIONS FOR SWIFT REVACUATION HAVE DIMINISHED IN RECENT WEEKS. SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS HAS CANCELLED ITS FLIGHTS TO LUANDA, THUS CUTTING IN HALF THE NUMBER OF SEATS AVAILABLE AT ANY GIVEN TIME. TAP FLIGHTS TO LISBON ARE FULLY BOOKED TO JULY 24. VARIG FLIGHTS TO RIO ARE ALMOST FULL FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS. SOME SEATS ARE AVAILABLE TO KINSHASA ON TAAG AND TO JOHANNESBURG ON TAP, BUT WHEN NEW FIGHTING ERUPTS WE CAN EXPECT A RUSH ON THESE SEATS. THE LIBERATION GROUPS HAVE ESTABLISHED STRONG POINTS NEAR THE RUNWAY AND COULD AT ANY TIME INTERDICT AIR TRANSPORT.

F) OUR PRIME MARSHALLING POINT FOR AN EVACUATION, THE ENGLISH SCHOOL, HAS BEEN ABANDONED BECAUSE MPLA HAS ESTABLISHED A GARRISON NEXT DOOR. MPLA TROOPS ALSO CONTROL THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO THE FISHING CLUB WHERE THE CONSULATE'S BOAT IS MOORED AND WHICH WE HOPE TO USE FOR TEMPORARY EVACUATION. TEXACO WORKBOATS, WHICH HAD BEEN BASED SOME TWELVE HOURS AWAY HAVE BEEN MOVED TO GABON, A FORTY TWO HOUR JOURNEY. EMPLOYEES CAN PROBABLY STILL GET TO TEMPORARY SAFE HAVENS NEAR LUANDA UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS, BUT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ADEQUATELY CARE FOR AND PROTECT DEPENDENTS.

7. I TOLD THE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON MAY 2 OF MY DECISION. HE HAD NO COMMENT OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THE SITUATION IS BAD, THAT THE GOVERNMENT HOPES IT NOW HAS A HANDLE ON THINGS AND THAT THE VIOLENCE HAS DIMINISHED, BUT THAT WHAT IS NEEDED IS A NEW SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO REVISE THE GROUND RULES FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: EMERGENCY EVACUATION, DEPENDENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LUANDA00514
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750156-0226
From: LUANDA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750583/aaaacxuz.tel
Line Count: 255
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 LUANDA 0509, 75 AND 0438
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <04 NOV 2003 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RATIONALE FOR EVACUATION OF DEPENDENTS PRETORIA FOR RSO
TAGS: AEMR, ASEC, PINT, MILI, AO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006